

THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Colonial Coin Collectors Club

The Elephant Coppers



and The Royal African Company

Winter, 1998

Volume 6 Number 4

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Ads for this newsletter can be purchased as follows:

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1/2 page	30	45	75	4-1/2"x 3-3/4"

If you want to include a photo with your ad at an additional \$10. Black and white photo needed, size can be adjusted to fit. Please send check with your ad. We can accept camera ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file.

All members also have the right to include a free classified ad in the newsletter of up to 13 lines.



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Editor's Notes

Angel Pietri

We are just back from our fourth convention. The spirits of those attending were very high, and we all had a great time. Several very interesting lectures were presented. This and future issues will be presenting some of the material discussed. For the second year in a row we were fortunate to have Phil Mossman with us and able to share his expertise in the field. And as I told him from physician to physician, I hope that when I retire I can look as well as he does.

The club's treasury is doing well. Currently we have \$10,690 in our operating account and \$20,594 in an interest bearing money market account. We still have about \$2,000 in accounts payables outstanding, and about \$4,700 in receivables pending. We should close out the year with a balance of approximately \$34-35,000.

Dues Notice

And talking about money, with the New Year comes the time to pay our dues. Check your mailing label for the year or initials after your name. If you see LM (Life Member), 99 or higher, you are all paid up. Otherwise, it's the usual as detailed on page 1.



Message from the President

Dennis Wierzba

Convention IV is now history. For all those who could come to Boston, it was another outstanding event. I wish to thank Jim Skalbe for coordinating the reception on Thursday night. Jim Rosen did another outstanding job on the education segment, with seven hours of speakers on Friday night and two presentations on Saturday. I would like to thank all the speakers for the many hours spent in preparation. Many thanks also go to the volunteers who aided with lot viewing, sat behind the club table, or both. Angel once again brought his camera and took more pictures for the photo library. Dave Menchell had an outstanding exhibit of Washington coins, tokens, and medals, and Tony Terranova displayed his outstanding Fugio collection in his case.

The club owes many thanks to Ed Aleo. Besides attending to any problem, however minor, Ed provided free tables and other considerations to C4. His "clout" with the hotel greatly aided our group. Because of his efforts on our behalf, the Board has awarded Ed Aleo an honorary life membership in C4. The Board also

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approved returning to Boston 11/5-7/99 for our next convention. Once again, M & G will run the 1999 C4 auction.

As for other business, the special leather-bound, photo-plated edition of *"The Copper Coins of Vermont"* will be sold for \$200. Only 39 copies will be made. Please place your order with Dan Freidus (address in page 2). The success of the convention and the book sales has allowed us to reduce the cost from the original estimate. Those who have already paid the original quote of \$235 will be refunded the difference.

On April 14, at the EAC convention, I will be again responsible for the Colonial Happening. Further details will appear on the next issue of this newsletter. As always, your help behind the tables will be needed.



SAM NACOL

Nov. 23, 1952-June 10, 1998

It is with sadness that I write to report the death of Sam Nacol on June 10th 1998.

I first met Sam Nacol about ten years ago at a Texas State Numismatic Association Convention. Sam was in the process of putting together a major variety set of Colonials and Large Cents. He showed me a list of the things he wanted to find. It was a sophisticated list based on all the major variety types. He wanted not just a 1796 Draped Bust Cent, but a 1796 reverse of 1794, a 1796 reverse of 1796, and a 1796 reverse of 1797. Each of these "wants" he had listed with the appropriate Sheldon number. He had this list itemized for all 27 early cent dates. This was not the sort of list I normally had presented to me at shows in Texas. This was someone who had come a long way from the eight-year-old who had started by buying his father a Redbook for Father's Day and sorting through change at the school cafeteria.

Over the years he refined his list and expanded it to include more middle and later date cents. The coins he bought were nice and often condition census level. But he was not always “greedy”, as he put it, for something better. He liked his cents and would not displace an “old friend” he was satisfied with for a coin that was merely nicer. Sam was a physician by vocation. Having established a private practice in general and vascular surgery in Henderson, Texas, in 1986, he was well respected. He had the kind and gentle manner of the physician as well as a physician’s meticulous and analytical mind. He also had a wry sense of humor that would catch you by surprise. I would say he even had a sense of humor about his collecting. There is something humorous about collecting, isn’t there? Paying hundreds of dollars for a penny? Most non-collectors find it very funny indeed. Sam’s humor made working with him a pleasure.

During the years I knew him, when Sam attended EAC or C-4 Conventions, his wife, Lynn, would often come with him. Lynn was always supportive and interested. She soon began adding Hard Times and Civil War Tokens to their collection. They always seemed to be squeezing a lot more fun out of collecting than others and it was something they shared together in a special way.

Sam passed away June 10, 1998, at age 45, from a heart attack. He is survived by his children, Charles, Yvonne, and Audrey, and by his wife, Lynn. Lynn attended this year’s C4 Convention in Boston. She asked to have a bequest of \$1000 presented to both C-4 and EAC. The officers of the club asked me to write a note of thanks and remembrance. Thank-you, Lynn, for this gift to the club and for the gift of knowing you and Sam.

Chris McCawley
December 1998

On behalf of the Board and the membership of C4, I would like to also offer our sympathy to the wife and family of Sam Nacol, and our deep appreciation for the gift that she presented to the club in Boston.

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I personally had the chance to meet Sam only once at a C4 convention. But nevertheless it was a very interesting encounter. He was already a Life Member of C4. Yet he came to our table and left an unsolicited check for his dues renewal again. When, upon later posting his payment, I discovered that he was already a Life Member, I sent him a note offering to refund his payment. He would not take it back, and left it as a donation to the club. Not many people are like this, more interested in giving than receiving.

His life membership will continue in the name of his wife, Lynn.

Angel Pietri
Treasurer



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C4 Items for Sale

C4 Convention Items for Sale

Silver Second Convention Medals \$10

Copper Second Convention Medals \$3

Hardbound Scott Barnes Catalogs \$50

Hardbound Third C4 Convention Catalogue \$50

***A small number of Hardbound catalogues of the recent 4th
convention sale will be made, also for \$50,
Call or write Dennis if you are interested.***

Add \$1 postage and handling for Medals and \$3 for catalogues. All will be sent uninsured at buyer's risk. If you want insurance, add an appropriate amount. Please forward your check to Dennis, payable to C4, at the address below.

The Richard Picker Collection Lot Envelopes

Stack's has provided C4 with Picker's own customized envelopes from his collection sold in October 1984. They are available from the club for \$5 each if you can show adequate proof that you own the coin. This \$5 donation is for the club's treasury, thanks to Stack's. All unsold envelopes will be returned to Stack's. If you own any of these coins and would like to own the envelope, contact me at the address below.

Dennis Wierzba



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Important Notice!

Auction Lot Lost During Lot Viewing at Annual Convention

To everyone's distress, during lot viewing for the Fourth Convention Auction in Boston this past November 21st a lot disappeared. This was noticed late Saturday afternoon during the last hour of lot viewing. The lot has not turned up as of yet. This was lot #349, a 1786 Vermont RR.7, VF-30 at 119.8g. The coin was not plated.

If anyone has any information on this lot please contact Bob Grellman at [REDACTED]



Letters to the Editor

On PCGS and colonials

This is in regards to PCGS and their "grading" of colonial coins. Collectors have submitted coins of all kinds to various grading services for encapsulation for various reasons. Some like their coins "slabbed" for protection, some for authentication, and some for an unbiased third party assigned grade. As most people are aware, there is always some leeway given for human error, and subjectivity. I am not against the idea of "slabbing" coins of any kind. The slabs provide a good deal of protection from various environmental factors. They can also assist with proving authentication of rare varieties, if properly evaluated.

PCGS, one of several coin grading companies, has recently begun slabbing colonial coins. On one hand, this is a good thing for the colonial coin area of collecting due to their increased visibility and popularity. This will be reflected in a more active market for colonials. But, on the "other side of the coin", PCGS is degrading

the colonial collecting field. I have personally sent coins in to PCGS and the other major grading services, i.e. ANACS, NGC and PCI. Currently, ANACS only grades Fugio Cents and Continental Currency, NGC does not slab colonials, PCI will grade any colonial coin, and PCGS will only grade colonial coins in the Red Book.

I am disappointed in PCGS's attempt at this project. I am going to mention several examples of poor quality service that I have seen from PCGS and their "grading" of Colonial coins. First of all, PCGS does not and will not weigh most colonials, except for the Massachusetts silvers. It is very useful to know colonial coin weights. In addition, PCGS does not indicate the proper variety other than the Red Book major variety by the commonly called name. Therefore, unless you can easily identify varieties, you cannot be sure what the variety is without some work. Isn't that their job?

Is the plastic really worth \$30.00? Oh, I understand that some of the cost goes toward authentication and grading. Well there lies another problem. I have witnessed personally several errors in their "grading". One example is a 1786 Vermont copper that I submitted to them for grading. I knew what the coin should have graded, and what the variety was. The coin was a Ryder 10, and exceptional for the variety. I purchased the coin from a reputable auction company that deals in colonial coins. The coin should have graded a choice VF. PCGS graded it a Good 06 with no indication of variety, which I had supplied them. I sent the coin back to them with a letter explaining that the coin was not properly graded, and that the variety is often difficult to grade. The first response I got from the customer service person was, "We don't make mistakes". I spoke to the president of the company, who promised to personally look at my coins and communicate to me his opinion. I sent the coin in; it was returned a Good 06, with no explanation. I am sure Mr. Montgomery never saw the coin. I eventually resubmitted the coin to PCI who brilliantly graded it VF30, but with environmental damage, with the Ryder number on the holder. I sent the coin in to them again with documentation from Carlotto's Vermont book, and it was re-graded VF30 with planchet flaws. This was very impressive. The company took the time to realize their error and

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learn from it. They even sent me two coupons toward my next two submissions.

Another coin I recently purchased from another mail bid auction was a 1788 Connecticut Copper, Miller 16.1-H. This coin was already graded by PCGS as AU50. The coin was undergraded. Even the auction company stated that the coin was "too conservatively graded, in our opinion, as it appears fully mint state with a trivial hint of cabinet friction on the high points." The coin was a late die state where the face on the obverse is nearly missing, with spidery die cracks extending from the effigy's nose to the rim. Again, the variety was not listed on the holder. Another "find" was a Vermont Ryder 13, Britannia, as was indicated in the label. This is another coin that requires special grading. The coin should be graded using primarily the obverse. The reverse is always weak on these. The coin was graded as a VF20. The coin should be about AU. I guess the errors can work in the buyer's favor. This coin and the Conn. have not been sent into PCI as of yet, but they will. I have seen several auction houses state the same type of comments about PCGS's grading being "off".

Another important mistake that PCGS has made is in the authentication of a rare variety of a Voce Populi. The coin was offered for sale in a Teletrade auction, and was listed as a 1700 variety of the Voce Populi. I won the coin in the auction, and when it arrived, it took me 2 seconds to realize that the coin was not a 1700 variety at all. It was slabbed as such by PCGS though. The coin was a scarce variety, but not the rare variety. It was a 1760/00 variety, or a Breen 226, for all you Breenian's, not the Breen 229 Blundered date variety. Of course, the coin was returned, and the money was refunded. The coin showed up a couple weeks later in the next Teletrade auction. I have seen in the PCGS population report that two examples of this coin were slabbed. One of them is not the real thing. I wonder if the other one is.

The last example I will describe is a French Colonies Sou Marque. I purchased the coin from a mail bid auction as an unlisted overdate of 1741/39. The overdate was not the clearest overdate I have ever

seen, but it was identifiable. The coin was returned as a 1741, without the overdate indicated. When I inquired as to why, the answer was that they did not recognize this overdate because it is unlisted. This too will be sent to PCI for re-grading.

My personal belief is that PCGS is running out of coins to grade and, therefore, is trying to tap into another market niche. But they have no idea how much integrity and pride with respect to their coins colonial collectors have. I will continue to submit coins to PCI due to the fact that they have shown they can work with me, and learn from mistakes and rectify them. I feel that you get a better value with their service. They will also label varieties on their holders, a great asset in my opinion. PCGS should either slab these coins the way real colonial coin collectors expect or not slab them at all. Who wants to pay \$30.00 for poor service? PCGS does not seem to want to take the time required to properly grade these coins. The only good thing about them grading these coins is the good finds that will be out there for the grabbing for the educated colonial collector. This also happens in the early half and large cent coins slabbed without variety listed as well. Happy cherry picking!

I only hope to enlighten readers of my own personal experiences regarding the grading services. I look forward to hearing of other collectors' experiences in this area.

Sincerely,
Scott E. Annechino
Rochester, NY
Member C4, ANA, and RNA.



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The Elephant Coppers- A Royal Mint Advertising Token for the Royal African Company?

By John Lorenzo

Introduction

The origin and purpose of the Elephant coppers remains to this date an enigma. The writer will attempt to show that these pieces were meant as advertising to support the operations of the Royal African Company (RAC) and possibly of its predecessor, the Royal Adventurers (RA). In all probability, these pieces were to be distributed only for use in England and probably not intended for exportation during their issue. This article will explore several pieces of evidence related to the RA and the RAC, two of the most important English trading companies of the time. We will also discuss the connection to Carolina and New England, the Lord Proprietors, and John Rottier.

Background

Frank Steimle's recent article in CNL (1) provides us with the best accumulation of historical and numismatic information to date. Let us review what are the previous noted numismatic opinions concerning these Elephant pieces.

Hickox describes these coins and references a Mr. Burnt who concluded the dies were executed probably by John Rottier, but not engraved at the Tower Mint of London. We are told that it was a common practice at this time (i.e., late 17th century) to use outside die engravers to prepare dies for coins made at the Tower Mint (2). Dickeson (3) agreed they were the work of John Rottier but felt they were also made at the Tower Mint. His explanation of these pieces is that they were linked to the 1665-6 outbreak of the plague in London. Crosby (4) believed that these were medals or halfpence patterns. Montagu (6), as Crosby, considered these to have been halfpence patterns. This is not the case in my opinion for the Carolina and New England issues do show signs of heavy circulation, as do the more numerous (Rarity 4) "God Preserve London" issues.

Atkins (5) was also on target, in my opinion, when he stated that these pieces were produced privately by English manufacturers and, though heavily circulated, were not produced for any extensive period of time.

Taxay (14) believed that the heavy weight types circulated in England and the lightweights outside of England. If this was Rottiers intent at the Tower Mint why is that the Norweb: 1237 specimen, a New England Elephant halfpenny type was struck at 240.9 grains?

Steimle presents the Dudley petition as a possible mechanism for the transfer of these coppers to America.

Why the terms “Carolinas” and “New England” ?

The question arises as to how the God Preserve London logo relates to the Carolina and New England logos?

If we consider these pieces as struck to advertise the RA and RAC and the overall importance of the Transatlantic trading routes with the colonies, we may be able to establish a connection. As one of England's primary sources of certain continually needed commercial goods, it is easy to understand that the colonies of the South (Carolinas) and the North (New England) were one of vital concern to England in the 1690's. The Anglo-French War during the 1690's was threatening England's imports from these regions.

The slave trade provides another possible link. Even though their numbers remained small throughout the 17th century when Black slaves were counted in hundreds rather than thousands, Blacks were part of American history from very early on. After a growth spurt in numbers near the closing years of the 17th century, their number grew to 26,000 in 1700.

By the end of the 17th century, as much as three-fifths of the income of the RAC was derived from the sale of slaves. The other two-fifths came from gold from Senegambia from the Gold Coast, camwood and beeswax from Sierra Leone, and gum, used for textiles, from the

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Senegal Valley. Between its founding and 1689, the company indeed exported just under 90,000 slaves - about 24,000 from the so-called Windward Coast, or the modern Liberia, nearly 20,000 from the Gold Coast, 14,000 from Whydah, on the Slave Coast, and a little over 10,000 slaves each from Senegambia and Angola. The RAC sold approximately 75,000 slaves to British North America between 1673 and 1725. These figures would suggest that over 5,000 slaves left Africa every year in ships of the Royal African Company, about 4,000 arriving through the British Caribbean. From this point a small percentage were then transferred to the colonies (mainly Virginia and Maryland). However, these two colonies were not as threatened by the French in the Mississippi River Basin and Quebec as the Carolinas and New England were.

The die maker and others at the Tower Mint may have simply used these two terms to define the regions that were the most threatened by France during the war in the 1690's.

Royal African Company

Foreign trade in the late 17th century became a highly organized and important business in London. Commerce with other European countries was well established. But trade with Europe's new colonies or with uncolonized lands on distant continents would require a more sophisticated level of administration and government support. The guild system represented one widely embraced model of professional association, and the new companies that sprang up to facilitate the increasingly profitable slave trade were quick to adopt this approach of pooling resources for a common goal. Thus, the East India Company was formed in 1663, and with it the less successful rival, the Royal Adventurers, later to become the Royal Africa Company. The East India Company controlled English shipping in the India proper; it also conducted trade in East Africa and in a number of Asian countries. Though the RA was initially more interested in gold, the RAC later specialized in trade with Africa and the West Indies, and the main goal of the RAC was to dominate the slave trade.

The RA was founded in 1660, after the Restoration. This new company was, as was then thought the best economic course, given a

monopoly of the English African trade for a thousand years. Due to insufficient resources, a new charter was issued for the company of Adventurers in January 1663. Shareholders included King Charles II and the Duke of York (with 2000 pounds invested). Among those who had not figured in this list of subscribers three years before were the new Queen, Catherine of Braganza (as a daughter of the restored king of Portugal, she should have been familiar with the African trade). Her colossal dowry of 330,000 pounds was financed by a special levy on Lisbon merchants, including slave traders. This dowry also included Tangier, and privileges for English merchants in the Portuguese Empire. The Queen Mother Henrietta Marie, and Samuel Pepy, known for his multi-volume diary detailing aspects of daily life in London at the time, were also apparently involved. Pepy wrote: "there was walking in the gallery some of the Barbary Company (South Barbary was the northernmost point where the company could trade), and there we saw a draft of the arms of the company, which the King is of and so is called the Royal Company, which is, in a field argent, an elephant proper, with a canton on which England and France is quartered supported by two Moors"(17, 18). (A canton is a section of a coat of arms occupying less than a quarter of it.)

This new Royal Company's logo used an elephant very similar to the one on these elephant coppers. We see a reference to this elephant figurine in the quote from Pepy. In 1663, it was agreed that the Royal Mint should turn some of the gold brought back from the gold coast into coins with an elephant stamped on one side. They were called "guineas" from the beginning, soon established at a rate of twenty-two shillings. (Fig. 1)

Even after the company took on further investors in 1668 to add to their resources and maintain their monopoly of the trading empire, by 1672, the trouble of the Royal Adventurers continued. In its place, the RAC was founded. The new company would retain its predecessor's handsome premises, Africa House, in Broad Street (later they moved to Leadenhall Street), and some of the staff remained, as did many of the shareholders. The only major difference between the RAC and its predecessor was that the new

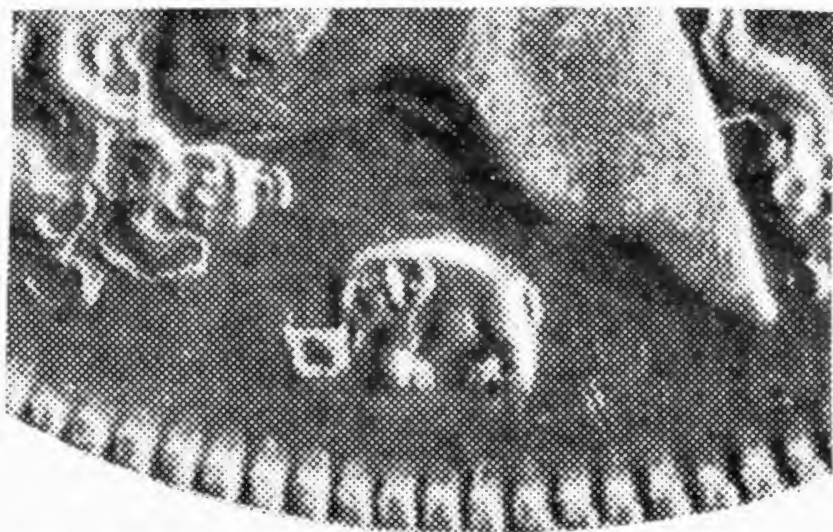


Fig. 1: Charles II gold guinea with the elephant symbol of the RA

company's major commercial product was slaves not gold. The boundaries of its operations were also made wider, from Cape Blanco in the North to Cape of Good Hope in the South. As the Adventurers, the RAC retained the symbol of the elephant.

The RAC charter had some interesting provisions. The company was to provide the king and his successors with two elephants whenever they should set foot in Africa (they never did). The company would also have a monopoly of all African trade until 1688 and thereafter, it would be able to extract a fee from other English traders on the coast (i.e., the fee was ten percent).

The RAC also had many shareholders, with the majority shareholders being the top merchants of London. The only one mentioned by Davies (there may have been others) with any association to the Royal Mint was Sir John Buckworth, a commissioner of the Mint. K.G. Davies (29), in his book "The Royal African Company", supports information also discussed in Thomas (18) that the gold guineas struck at the Tower were stamped with an elephant (i.e., a similar elephant as on the Elephant coppers) located below the portrait of the king. In Davies' opinion these gold guineas were put into circulation and provided an unusual and picturesque form of advertisement, and may have been responsible for the excessive importance sometimes attached to West Africa as a source of the precious metal. The gold to produce the guineas (total: 548,327 from 1673-1713) was obtained from the West African coast (i.e., predominantly from an area termed the Gold Coast).

K.G. Davies talks about only one other form of money issued by the RAC, and these were the RAC bonds. The entire section on the RAC bonds reads: "For twenty five years from 1672, the RAC sales proceeded uneventfully. In common with every other vendor, however, it had to meet the difficult monetary situation preceding and created by the re-coinage of 1696. The guinea, which had been valued by the company for dividend purposes at 22s in 1676 and had since been stable at 21s6d, rose in 1695 to 30s. At its first sale in 1696, the company resolved to accept payments of one-half in guineas and the other half in good silver, bank notes, or such other

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notes as the Company should like. Later in the same year, one-half in bank notes was accepted and at the beginning of 1697 'old silver money at 5/2 an ounce'. This disorder subsided in 1698 when the re-coinage was completed, but meanwhile the company had taken the decision to liquidate part of its debt by accepting its own bonds in payment for goods sold at auctions. Thus at the sale of 20 December 1697, buyers were permitted to pay up to one-quarter in milled money or guineas and the other three quarters in company bonds. This practice was continued until 1710, the company accepting payment as to one-quarter, one-half or three-quarters in bonds according to the size of the debt or the pressure of its creditors."

K.G. Davies confirms the African elephant as the emblem for the RAC, and that the purpose of the stamped elephant on the gold guineas was predominantly an advertising one. And the elephant on the gold guineas is very similar to the one on these elephant coppers. Davies never mentions specifically in his book these "copper" elephant pieces in any association with the RAC or as having a monetary value or even utilized as money. Based on the above, only the elephant RAC emblem is presented as a link to the elephant design on the obverse of these coppers. The elephant appearing on these Elephant coppers may also have been issued as a form of advertising to support the West African trade and the RAC, since coppers had no real monetary value of exchange with the English pound during the late 17th century. The only coins that are mentioned in any RAC transactions in the above account are silver and gold coins.

Could these "copper" pieces have been intended as a form of money for payment to RAC personnel? Davies of this possibility makes no mention. The information on this situation is again presented here in completeness for the reader to reach his own conclusions:

"Fortunately, both for the company's cash resources in London and for its employees, the greater part of these salaries was payable in Africa. Under the establishment of 1676 (remembering the RAC was started in 1672, continuing from the failed Royal Adventurers) officers were to receive two-thirds of their pay in gold on the coast (West Africa) and the remaining one-third in England on the

completion of service. Other ranks were paid entirely in Africa, though an optional scheme existed whereby allotments could be made to dependents to England. For paying these salaries and wages in Africa, gold was valued at 3 pounds 12s. an ounce. In the new establishment issued in 1687, an attempt was made to depress wages by valuing gold at 4 pounds an ounce. The soldiers at Cape Coast promptly mutinied, and a compromise settlement of 3 pounds 16s. an ounce was finally reached. Under this arrangement the first 1,500 ounces of gold or thereabouts taken each year had to be appropriated to the payment of salaries and allowances of Gold Coast personnel, so that in several years after 1698, when the gold trade was languishing, there was nothing left to remit to England". As Davies points out the majority of RAC personnel worked out of West Africa, and gold, not copper, was the preferred form of payment.

In addition, there is not much probability that these pieces may have been used by the RAC as halfpenny on the other side of the Atlantic. Burnside (7), Co-Director of the Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society, gives an example of a slave ship called the *Henrietta Marie*, which operated during 1696-1698. The majority of the Africans on this one particular 1696 voyage, 188 in total, were already consigned to a slave merchant named William Shuller. A broker, rather than a plantation owner, people like Shuller were men of considerable importance. In this case, Shuller served also as Justice of the Peace in Barbados. For this particular voyage Shuller paid an average of 19 English pounds for each slave. But the monetary transaction was in the equivalency of so many pounds for a particular commercial good. The slaves at this point were then transported to the Carolinas or other Caribbean islands in the area. The *Henrietta Marie* delivered her load. It sank shortly after near Barbados. In 1991 the *Henrietta Marie* was salvaged. The examined contents were predominantly made up of guns, various personal items, pewter objects, spoons (none of them gold) and no jewels. There was however an abundance of shackles. A personal communication with Burnside (20), with a copy of the CNL Steimle paper and the Norweb collection of Elephant coppers, failed to reveal any evidence of confirmed Elephant copper in the salvage. Of the few (six) copper coins removed from the shipwreck, none proved to be of a similar size or

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weight as the Elephant tokens (all copper pieces removed from this salvage operation had their legends removed by the corrosive action of the sea water). At this time no Elephant coppers have been discovered from any past salvage operations of the National Association of Black Scuba Divers (NABS) in the southeastern United States (20). The NABS has contacts with all historical and conservatory societies in the southeast and all of those who operate in Florida. This lack of a singular specimen does cast doubt on the use of these pieces by RAC personnel during these voyages, and again suggests that these pieces remained in England possibly as advertising tokens.

The captains of these slave ships in route to Western Africa always utilized fixed outposts. These outposts provided for the sea captains a secure landing for their ships and generally facilitated the trade of commercial goods which primarily consisted of cowry shells, iron bars, guns, basins, mirrors, knives, pewter tankards, linens, silks, beads, etc., for a specific number of African slaves. The monetary exchange was generally fixed and involved only commercial goods at these outposts, with a particular commercial good having a pre-determined English pound value. As with all coins throughout the 15th to 18th centuries, they were always minimally important in the slave trade. Specifically, Thomas (18) mentions the company taking guinea coins to the river (Ganmia) and in an Appendix 4 in his book on the value of slaves from 1650-1700 he cites the following: 1650: one slave at 10 cabess (40,000 cowries); 1654: Dutch charging 2,000 pounds of sugar per slave; 1657: in Brazil, a pieza sold at 22,000 reals, various others at lower prices down to 12,000; 1657: Spaniards offering the Dutch to pay 200 reals (pieces of eight) per slave plus heavy taxes - 113 pieces of eight; 1698: in Madagascar, slaves can be bought for 10 shillings in English goods; in Guinea, prices rise for each slave from 3 to 4 pounds. But Thomas (18) also points out that iron bars and Guinea brass rods were the two most economically attractive metal objects in West Africa at the end of the 17th century. The history of this region does indicate raw metals being the preferred commercial item, not coins. One of the largest trading outposts of the late 17th century was Elmina, near Accra, which was founded by the Portuguese, but was captured by a

succession of European countries, until it was finally retained by the English. No records of halfpence of an "Elephant" design or for that matter, of any real transactions of hard currency specie has been found at Elmina (20).

K.G. Davies book also details the RAC's financial problems and other factors which may account for these elephant pieces being issued to advertise the operations of the RAC and the African trade the company was involved with to support England. The primary problem of any African company as with the RAC was a shortage of liquid capital. Although the capitalization of the RAC proceeded on more businesslike lines than that of earlier joint-stock companies, the sum raised soon proved unequal to the demands made upon it. The turnover of capital was naturally slow, and was made slower by the necessity of extending long credit to the planters who bought slaves. In addition permanent investment was undertaken in the building of new forts on the Western African Coast and in strengthening of old ones. Then, to buy slaves on the scale needed to make a profit, the Royal African Company's captains had to have 100,000 pounds worth of goods per voyage (for example East Indian cloth, Swedish iron bars, Dutch guns, or French brandy) for exchange. To meet these needs the company was forced to borrow heavily, the interest on the debt becoming in time a major item of expenditure.

Like all monopolies the RAC had royal prerogatives which at times aroused hostilities. It was criticized by English manufacturers for artificially limiting the markets in the West Indian colonists by delivering insufficient slaves, and by merchants who wished to trade to Africa themselves. The Revolution of 1688 put the company in an extremely vulnerable position, and criticism, hitherto restrained, became much more vocal. Coincidentally, the date was when its exclusive license had to be renewed, or come to an end. But the company could hope for little from the new regime. The removal of royal support was evident. King James left London and one of its principal directors, Henry Jermyn, now Lord Saint Albans, fled to France with him. Thereafter, the company limited itself to encouraging interlopers to obtain proper licenses, and trying to persuade them to seek their cargoes to the east of the river Volta,

where there were no English forts. Between 1690 and 1700 there was much competition from these interlopers. Bristol had become Britain's premier port for sugar and trade with the West Indies. The city's distilleries and sugar refineries (active as early as 1654), on the river Avon and near Frome, were kept busy by the import of much raw sugar and molasses. Bristol was also Britain's chief port for shipping of voluntary or kidnapped indentured servants, many of whom originally came from Ireland. By 1698, the company, with only a quarter century used up out of the presumed 1000 years of privilege mentioned in its charter, had lost its monopoly.

The RAC's own trade and finances had suffered in the Anglo-French War of 1689-97 as previously discussed and further heavy blows were received in the War of 1702-13. This writer agrees fully with Steimle (1) on the fact that England's involvement in King William's War, in which England allied itself with several other European nations against the growing powers of Louis XIV's France, was potentially very disruptive to the triangular trade route between 1689 and 1697. This triangle involved London and the Lord Proprietors, Africa, and the colonies. London was where the "Proprietors" were granted their royal charters. Africa was where the needed cheap labor was procured to operate the American colonial plantations mostly in the Caribbean and in the Colonial South (Carolinas). This triangulation of London, Africa and the American colonies was why and how the RAC was created and operated. Indeed, the French in the Mississippi River Basin and in Quebec, as well as the French Navy and French privateers were a threat respectively to both the South (Carolinas) and the North (New England).

Davies details how during the Anglo-French War years (1689-97 and 1702-8), the RAC lost 114 ships during its voyages. The worst years were 1694, 1704 and 1706 when sixteen, eleven and twelve ships respectively were lost to the French, the weather or to bad seamanship. During this period (1694-5) in Parliament there were also many discussions about whether to keep the monopoly of the RAC alive. Eventually this was lost to interlopers by 1698 (i.e., open trade to private companies paying the RAC 10% to join in the

African trade). Collecting the 10% proved difficult and the extra competition of course did not benefit the RAC).

The disruption of the constant flow of slaves to the Caribbean from the West African outposts even for a short time would be sufficient to create severe economic turmoil. Therefore, another possible explanation for the year "1694" on these pieces other than the Dudley petition stems from the above historical account of the RAC's financial difficulties. During 1692-1708, the RAC was in its worst years financially with 1694 being the worst year as verified by Davies who published the overall yearly debt for the RAC based on historical records. An English proclamation of God Preserve the city of London, the English colonists in the Carolinas and in New England during this time could be considered a necessary and politically sound statement for everyone concerned!

The one interesting fact is that during this period of major difficulty for the RAC, the demand for slaves was extremely high and the demand was not being met, in particular in the northern colonies such as Massachusetts. In 1680 the governor of Massachusetts had noted that only one ship had landed two years ago with only 50 Negroes. The RAC apparently lacked the efficiency of its East India counterpart, and the planters complained that its ships were unable to keep up with the demand for European goods or the colonists' demands for African slaves (7).

The Lord Proprietors

These coppers are not only linked to the RA and RAC by the elephant emblem, but also by "Lord Proprietors" in the reverse legend. Who were these Lord Proprietors? Some principal proprietors were York, Albermale, Clarendon, Craven, Shaftesbury, Berkeley, and Carteret-these seven men are met with again and again in pre-Revolutionary America, singly or in varying combinations, as the leaders of enterprises intended to strengthen England's position at sea, in America, and on the coast of Africa. The list includes the proprietors of the colonies of the Carolinas, New York, New Jersey, and the Bahamas. It includes, too, leading adventurers in the organizations such as the Royal African Company and the Hudson

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Bay Company. These same men are also found serving on various committees, "ad hoc" and more permanent, established from time to time to advise the government on the inseparable problems of trade and the colonies. Fortunately situated in the main centers of power in Restoration England, and charged with heavy public responsibilities, they were especially alert to strategic considerations that would govern the outcome of an increasingly acute contest with Holland (Dutch West India Company) for supremacy in the rapidly developing trade of the Atlantic Basin during the final years of the 17th century. Their initial effort in Carolina was directed against the old enemy Spain, but the greatest of their achievements came in the conquest of Dutch New Netherlands (New York) (28).

Thomas (18) provides us with an excellent account of all the British proprietors of the Royal African Company: The governor and largest shareholder during the creation of its charter in 1663 was James, Duke of York. Thus the company maintained the royal connection which the Adventurers had had. But there were in this company more merchants than nobleman. The directors also included four proprietors of plantations in Carolina (Lord Shaftesbury - the minister, to whom Britain would owe the Habeas Corpus Act - and Lord Craven; Sir George Carteret, commissioner for trade and plantations; and Sir John Collenton, a landowner in Barbados as well as Carolina), as well as the ever active Lord Berkeley, "the first peer... to collect directorships." The shareholders also included fifteen of the lords mayor of London in the years of the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, twenty-five sheriffs of London and like the Royal Adventurers, the philosopher of liberty, John Locke (he took 400 pounds of stock to begin with, and 200 pounds more in 1675).

During the 1690's there was much turmoil in England and this directly affected the Proprietors "right to govern." King William headed a revolutionary regime confronted with many difficult issues of domestic politics. He headed also a diplomatic and military alliance, which was at war with Louis XIV of France. And in Ireland the new king faced a rebellion on behalf of James II. During the 1690's the Elephant pieces with the use of the word "Preserve" for

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the Proprietors and the colonies and the trade they provided to support mother England during this troubled period seems very appropriate.

The “preserve” term used by the die-makers could have referred to the fragile nature of the transatlantic trade and the resulting vulnerability of the Proprietors and the other Royal African Company associated merchants.

What about the Dutch West India Company ?

The Dutch West India Company was not involved with the token. We can gather that from the information in the American Journal of Numismatics (AJN) articles (26,27) which confirm the dies for these pieces as being retained at the Tower Mint and the Rottier family being heavily involved at the Tower Mint during the late 17th and early 18th century. These references are further discussed in detail in the John Rottier -The Designer section.

In addition, beginning in the 1650's, the English Parliament passed a series of laws called the Navigation Acts, which established the ground rules for colonial participation in world trade. These acts slowly ousted the Dutch as a major player from the main trade routes in the colonies, and in particular within such Dutch held settlements in the New World as New Netherlands (28). The major provisions of these acts were as follows: 1- they excluded vessels registered in foreign countries from carrying trade between ports strictly within the British empire; 2- they provided the manufactured goods from Continental Europe could not be imported directly by the colonies but had to pass through England first; 3-they authorized bounties for colonial products especially desired in the home market; and finally 4- they specified that certain products deemed extraordinarily valuable in international trade were “enumerated” which meant that shipment only to England or other British ports was permitted. Hence, from 1650 onward, the British began to rule and control the principal trade routes and the Dutch were slowly ousted as a major player.

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John Rottier and Sons - The Designers

In the April 1877 issue of the AJN (26) the following account of the Elephant Halfpenny is given: "In pulling down an old palace at Enfield, in 1789, several relics were found. Among them a copper, having on one side the arms of London, circumscribed God Preserve London, and on the other side an elephant. Of this piece, Mr. Snelling (View at Coins struck in the West Indian Colonies, pp. 38-9) says, that is commonly called the London Halfpenny, and he apprehends it was struck from the same die as a similar one for Carolina, with an elephant on one side, and on the other, God Preserve Carolina And The Lords Proprietors 1694 (author's note: Hodder reached the same conclusion during the cataloging of the Norweb Elephant Token Collection) (15). This die is still remaining in the Tower, and appears to be the work of the Rioters (spelled as such in the AJN article). He had heard two or three opinions concerning the intent of uttering this piece, as, that it was for a London Workhouse; also, that its inscription alludes to the plague, and was struck while it raged in London; and he had likewise heard it was intended to be made current in Tangier, in Africa, but never took place."

With the confirmation in the AJN of the elephant dies still remaining at the Tower Mint, the likely candidate in the 1690's was John Rottier and his two sons who worked under Henry Harris, chief engraver and Thomas Neale, Master of the Mint. The AJN article of January 1899 (27) reaffirms this. "During the beginning of their tenure, the three Rottier brothers were granted salaries to work at the Tower Mint in 1669 (John, Joseph, and Philip) as the principal die cutters. Joseph however left England in 1679 never to return and Philip left England about 1684-5 and went to work at the mint in Brussels also never to return to England. Only John Rottier and his two sons James and Nortebus stayed on and if the striking year of 1694 of these pieces is accurate, John Rottier or with the assistance of his two sons in my opinion struck all of these Elephant pieces. Because of the obverse die link of the London and Carolina pieces and all other evidence presented so far, the writer believes all pieces were struck around 1694."

The Company of Royal Adventurers - A Need To Preserve

As discussed, the Royal Adventurers downfall led to the RAC. We also touched upon the fact that the gold guineas with the RA elephant emblem were first struck in 1663. Certain numismatists believe there may have been two striking periods for these "copper" elephant pieces, the first period being the Great Plague (1665) and Fire (1666) period whereupon "God Preserve London" coppers on the reverse first appeared. The reader needs to remember that when the RAC took over the Royal Adventurers operations in 1672 the emblem of the elephant remained unchanged. Therefore, it is still possible that these pieces could have been struck in the 1665-66 period and also around 1694. But since the "God Preserve London" and the Carolina reverse type are obverse-linked by an identical die, this seems unlikely. It would appear doubtful that the "God Preserve London" issues were struck decades apart. Otherwise, we need to find an explanation as to why the London issues may have been struck in the 1665-66 period, as well as around 1694.

The historian George Frederick Zook in his book titled "The Company of Royal Adventurers Trading Into Africa" (30) may give us another reason on why the word "Preserve" may have appeared on these elephant coppers during 1665-66. Before I present Zook's reference on the word "Preserve" he presents a good short background on this trading company. "On account of the king's cause at the death of Charles I, Prince Rupert, with his small fleet of royal vessels, was driven about from one part of the world to another. In 1652 he sought refuge in the Gambia River, where he listened to stories told by natives of rich gold mines in that region. For a number of years the Negroes had brought gold from the inland of Africa to the Dutch on the Gold Coast. There seemed every reason to believe that the source of gold supply was none other than that described by the natives of the Gambia River, and that it might be discovered somewhere in that region. Prince Rupert was so much impressed with the possibility of finding these mines that his voyage to Guinea was still vivid in his memory when Charles II assumed the throne in 1660. As early as 3 October 1660, the plans were formulated. Each member was required to invest at least 250 pounds in the undertaking. On 18 December 1660, the king who was

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pleased with the adventurers for having “undertaken so hopeful an enterprise,” granted them a charter under the name “The Company of the Royal Adventurers into Africa”.

The company was mismanaged by the royalty and simply fell into increasing debt. The worst time for the company was in late 1665-6 when the Dutch seamen DeRuyter captured every English fort on the African coast except Cape Coast, since it was so heavily fortified. The members of this Royal Company, who realized the gravity of the situation, begged the king to come to the company’s assistance. The king considered the company to be of great importance to the colonial trade, and realized his own intimate connection with its formation. He declared on 2 January 1665 that he was resolved “to assist, protect and preserve the said company in the prosecution of their said trade,” a statement which was tantamount to a declaration of war with the Dutch.

Zook’s writing of this account makes plausible the making of a token with the company’s emblem on the obverse with a plea to preserve London by preserving this trading company. The plague and fire may have simply provided additional incentives to their striking, since the imported African gold and other materials from Western Africa could only enhance the dismal situation in terms of having to rebuild London structurally and morally.

How could these tokens have made it to America?

Irrespective of the controversy over paper currency, which occurred in the various colonies in the 18th century, the major component of the colonial money stock was specie in both the 17th and 18th centuries. It was the policy of the British Parliament as discussed in Perkins (19) not to issue hard specie to the colonies. In part because the British Parliament did not allow the export of English coin from the British Isles, and because it refused to grant permission for the establishment of a separate mint overseas, the colonies relied primarily on the silver and gold coins from Spain’s New World mines for everyday monetary transactions. In New England as in the South (Carolinas), hard money was in short supply. The war with France did alleviate this burden due to England’s spending for military

related expenses in the colonies. Nevertheless there was always a shortage. These Elephant pieces would have been very welcomed by colonial merchants.

Steimle (1) provides a possible explanation to explain why a 1694 date may have been used on the Carolina and New England Elephant tokens, as well as why they came to America. His reason was that Sir Matthew Dudley in this year did petition the crown to provide coins to the colonies (1,16). These elephant pieces could be the first legalized copper halfpenny for the colonies.

Breen (21) talks about the Elephant Tokens possibly coming over with the St.Patrick's coins. This is not a strong possibility in my opinion. The St.Patrick's were brought over during the same time period and eventually utilized in West New Jersey, but they came from Ireland. This was of course done illegally.

The possibility that the Elephant pieces were illegally brought over as halfpenny sized coins is still a remote possibility at this time. But the Royal African Company itself had essentially no trading routes within the northern colonies (New England) that would allow any substantial inflow of RAC coppers.

The trading activity between the colonies and England was weighted in favor of England. It required ingenious means for the merchants to make coin or exchange flow directly from England to New England. One such arrangement was the New England Company, which had been organized before the Restoration to collect and transmit moneys from Puritan sympathizers in the British Isles to New England (22). But interest rates for such transactions were commonly set, and accepted, at 20 and 25 percent (23). Even at this price such funds were hard to come by, and the resources of the New England Company could satisfy at best only a small fraction of the needs of the New England merchants. However, we could speculate that companies such as the New England Company might have contributed to the inflow of these coppers to America.

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But to this date, artifact records do not suggest any major influx of these pieces to New England and/or the Carolinas by legal or illegal means.

Conclusion

From the information in this paper the writer is drawing the following conclusions:

* The Royal African Company was chartered in 1672 after the failed Royal Adventurers. The Royal African Company retained the same emblem as the Royal Adventurers. Evidence was presented which suggests that these Elephant coppers were struck for the Royal African Company to circulate in England to advertise the importance of Transatlantic trading routes to the colonies via Western Africa with the support of England. The year of greatest difficulty for the RAC was 1694. The possibility that the God Preserve London variety was also made in 1665-66 is less likely. But it may have been issued during this hardship period for the RA that triggered a preservation petition to Charles II, and his ensuing declaration.

* The London pieces, as well as the rarer Carolina pieces, seem to have circulated extensively. Therefore I disagree with Crosby and Montagu on these pieces being medals or halfpenny patterns. This is compatible with their use and circulation as advertising tokens to support the RA and RAC. The Carolina and New England pieces are designs that apparently were never struck in the quantities of the London pieces.

* The term "Lord Proprietors" is linked in my opinion with England and the persons governing the colonies and the people in power managing the trading operations for England. The term has been linked to the colonial plantation proprietors of England and defined clearly in Davies (29).

* The writer is convinced that John Rottier and/or his two sons were responsible for these pieces, and that they were made at the Tower Mint. Even if one was to consider the 1665-66 Great Plague or Fire in London, Charles II's preservation proclamation in 1665, and the

1694 date as being all associated with these coppers, the Rottiers still fit as the likely die engravers even for the entire period (1665-94).

* The Dutch West India Company is not a possibility in this scenario based on evidence supporting England, The Tower Mint, the Rottiers, and also because of the Navigation Acts promulgated by England that led to the slow decline of the Dutch as a trading power in the colonies after 1650.

* The policy of the British Parliament during the late 17th century was not to strike hard specie for their colonies. If the Elephant tokens did circulate outside of England, they were probably exported illegally. There is always a possibility the Royal (Tower) Mint may have made an exception with these elephant coppers and authorized these pieces to circulate as halfpence. The writer however found no evidence to support this possibility. Sir Dudley is one candidate who may have been an exporter of these coppers to the colonies.

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NJ Maris 18-M, An Extra "6"!

By Buell Ish

Let's face it, examining one's colonial coins is enjoyable. Recently the typical level of enjoyment I was experiencing was punctuated by the discovery of an extra punched "6" on one of my coins. I am unaware of any previous mention of this feature. But should this "discovery" not be "new", my pleasure will be undiminished.

The coin is a 1786 New Jersey copper known as the "Bridle Variety" (Maris 18-M). I was examining the coin in my stereo microscope when suddenly I found myself looking at what seemed to be an extra "6". This extra digit is above the "6" in the date and centered in the plowshare. For this reason, only the top and the bottom of the "6" shows (Fig.1). As this variety has a slightly bulbous plowshare, I imagine that it may have been enlarged in an attempt to obliterate the mistake.



Fig. 1; 1786 NJ Maris 18-M. The extra "6"

All Maris 18 obverse coins show this feature as far as I know, excepting only those with more wear. Note Norweb lot 1327, an early die state coin. This feature is quite apparent on the plate due to enlargement. The extra "6" is also visible on Norweb lot 1325, a later die state 18-J.

Many such engraving morsels await one examining a colonial copper. Had I found this extra digit on a Lincoln cent, it would make the front page of Coin World. Maybe I'll submit a photo to them. With an article tailored for their readership, of course.



Revised Sheldon Rarity Ratings Estimates for NJ Coppers

by Dennis P. Wierzbza

As an active collector and student of NJ coppers, I have believed for a long time that the quantification of R1-R3 on the Sheldon/EAC scale was far too high for NJ colonials. William Anton, in his 1975 NJ Colonial Newsletter article, revised downward the quantities associated with R1-R4. Although I agree in general with Bill's assessment, collectors of NJ coppers do NOT recognize his scale.

I am building a database with major (and minor) NJ sales from Maris to the 3rd C4 Convention sale. My database has much duplication, little randomness and only 3142 entries. By studying the distinct coins in the Griffie/Williams listings, auction appearances for more common coins and the sense of finding a piece as an active collector, I have tried to assess surviving supply on the Sheldon scale. My estimate for all surviving NJ's is about 9200, assuming that many NJ coppers have never made an auction appearance. I feel this estimate may be liberal.

I have divided the Sheldon scale in + and - using the midpoint as a divider. The precise definitions are included in the table along with the revised rarities. The NJ collector should make a mental

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distinction between a R3+ and a R4+ as he formerly compared an R1 to an R3.

Modified Sheldon Rarity Scale

R1: Greater than 1250 specimens

R2+: 501-875, R2-: 876-1250

R3+: 201-350, R3-: 351-500

R4+: 76-137, R4-: 138-200

R5+: 31-52, R5-: 53-75

R6+: 13-21, R6-: 22-30

R7+: 4-7, R7-: 8-12

R8: 2-3

R9: Unique

New Jersey Horse Head Left Coppers

Maris No.	Revised Rarity	Prior Rarity
6-C	4+	4
6-D	3+	1
7-C	9	9
7-E	7+	7
8-F	8	7
8.5-C	8	8
9-G	7+	7+
10G	6+	6+
10-h	7-	7
10-gg	8	8
10-oo	9	9
10.5-C	9	9
11-G	9	9
11-H	6-	6-
11-hh	9	9
11.5-G	7-	7
12-G	5-	5
12-I	5+	5
13-J	6-	6
14-J	3+	1

15-J	4+	2
15-L	4+	3
15-T	4+	4
15-U	5+	5+
16-J	6-	6-
16-L	3+	1
16-S	9	9
16-d	7+	7+
17-J	5-	4
17-K	4+	3
17-b	4-	3
18-J	5+	5+
18-L	9	9
18-M	3+	1
18-N	5+	5+
19-M	5+	5
20-N	4+	4
21-N	4-	2
21-O	5+	5
21-P	5+	5
21-R	7-	7-
21.5-R	8	8
22-P	7-	7-
23-P	4-	2
23-R	4-	3
23.5 R	7+	7+
24-I	8	8
24-M	7+	7+
24-P	4-	2
24-Q	7+	7+
24-R	5+	5
25-S	6-	5+
26-S	5+	5
26-d	8	8
27-S	5+	5
27-j	6+	6+
28-L	4+	3
28-S	5+	5

Fall, 1998

29-L	5-	4
29.5-L	9	9
30-L	4+	3
31-L	4-	2
32-T	3+	1
33-U	4+	4+
34-J	4+	3
34-V	6-	6
35-J	6-	6
35-W	7+	7+
36-J	7-	7-
37-J	5+	5
37-X	7-	7-
37-Y	5-	4
37-f	5-	4
38-L	9	9
38-Y	4+	4
38-Z	5-	4
38-a	5-	4
38-b	6+	6
38-c	4+	3
39-a	4-	2
40-b	5+	5+
41-c	5+	5+
42-c	5+	5+
42.5-c	9	9
43-Y	4+	4
43-d	3+	1
44-c	7-	7-
44-d	4+	4
45-d	5+	5+
45-e	5-	5
46-e	3+	1
47-e	6-	6-
47.5-e	8	8
48-X	7+	7+
48-f	4+	3
48-g	3+	1

49-f	5+	5
50-f	4+	3
51-g	6-	6
52-i	4+	3
53-j	4+	4-
54-k	4+	3
55-l	5+	5
55-m	4+	4
56-n	3-	1
57-n	6+	6+
58-n	5-	5
59-o	5+	5
60-p	4+	4-
61-p	5+	5
62-q	3+	1
62-r	8	8
62.5-r	9	9
63-q	3+	1
63-r	5-	5
63-s	3+	1
64-t	3+	1
64-u	5+	5+
64.5-r	9	9
65-u	4+	3
66-u	7+	7+
66-v	5+	5+
67-v	3+	1
68-w	5-	5
69-w	8	8
70-x	7-	7-
71-y	6-	6
72-z	5+	5
72.5-aa	9	9
73-aa	5-	5-
73.5-aa	8	8
74-bb	6-	6
75-bb	4+	4
76-cc	7+	7+

Fall, 1998

77-dd	3+	2
79-ee	8	8
80-ff	9	9
81-ll	8	8
83-ii	7-	7-
84-kk	8	8
85-nn	9	9



Copper Coins of Vermont Errata

By Tony Carlotto

Several errors in my book have been pointed out to me. I am sorry that these occurred, but very glad to have them corrected.

Any comments or more corrections are happily accepted. You can contact me at Tcolonial@aol.com, or Tony Carlotto, [REDACTED]

Page x, Second paragraph, surprises do *you* think

Page xi, 44, 196, Spillman should be Spilman

Page 4, Vlack 87C not 87-C

Page 9, *or* half a mile, not of half a mile in anecdote

Page 12, Par.4, Vermonts desire should be *Vermont's* desire

Page 15, 4th paragraph, insert *to* before defend

Page 16, Footnote 14 should be *ibid*.

Page 17, Anecdote: as considerable should be at considerable

Page 26, Top paragraph, those many should be *that many*

Page 31, Second paragraph, *at* Pawlet, not a Pawlet

Page 34, Footnote 30 should be *ibid*, 2nd full paragraph, agreed to *a* new state

Page 35, Footnote 35 should be *ibid*; second paragraph states that no battles during the Revolution were fought in Vermont soil, but the Battle of Hubbardton was on Vermont soil, July 7, 1777

Page 52, Footnote 62, Machin's *Mills*, not Mill

Page 55, Second paragraph, Vermont not Vernmont

Page 59, Second (right) illustration, Nova Constellatio is 1783, not 1785

- Page 62, Insert *is* before something in first sentence
- Page 64, Insert *more* before trouble in third paragraph; top two photos reversed
- Page 67, Change rarity to 6- on RR-26
- Page 81, Insert *weight* before range in first sentence under metrology
- Page 85, Top paragraph, insert *than* instead of that four pennyweight
- Page 90, Last sentence on left, line is *above* date, not under
- Page 93, Last word in second paragraph should read *Vermont*
- Page 108, Second line, add *the* before operation
- Page 109, Top photos are 5.5-M, not 5.9-B.1
- Page 111, COMMENTS, first line, *that* runs, not the runs
- Page 118, Right side box, 87C, not 87-C
- Page 119, Second paragraph, 87C, not 87-C
- Page 119, Add *weight* before range in METROLOGY; add of after majority
- Page 121, First paragraph, replace used with *use* after New York
- Page 125, Second paragraph, replace reverse-I with obverse-9, and obverse-9 with reverse-H.
- Page 129, Second paragraph, fourth line, add *the* before die
- Page 133, DIE STATES, add *know* after don't
- Page 135, Second sentence, change Mill to *Mills*
- Page 149, Remove *that* before begins in first sentence
- Page 153, Change rarity to 6- on RR-26
- Page 154, Change Mill to *Mills*
- Page 156, Add *weight* before range in METROLOGY
- Page 169, Bennington Museum does not have a RR-32 and probably never did
- Page 183, First paragraph, change Mill to *Mills*
- Page 186, 78B, not 78-B
- Page 189, Last sentence, *it is* somewhat replaces is it somewhat
- Page 192, Second paragraph, second sentence, change that to *than*
- Page 196, Change Spillman to Spilman
- Page 206, In comments below figure, 87C, not 87-C
- Page 207, First paragraph, 87C, not 87-C



1998 C-4 Sale Boston 21 Nov 98
Total Bids (229980.00)

Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid
1	0	68	625	135	270	202	550	269	135
2	1200	69	500	136	375	203	26	270	0
3	1750	70	35	137	235	204	2100	271	260
4	0	71	120	138	600	205	170	272	180
5	11000	72	130	139	340	206	26	273	0
6	0	73	0	140	650	207	360	274	295
7	1700	74	40	141	230	208	600	275	425
8	0	75	70	142	80	209	55	276	0
9	850	76	140	143	60	210	6500	277	700
10	0	77	260	144	46	211	230	278	375
11	500	78	185	145	120	212	70	279	550
12	650	79	150	146	145	213	260	280	260
13	120	80	0	147	130	214	49	281	85
14	155	81	120	148	140	215	22	282	270
15	85	82	290	149	250	216	650	283	210
16	80	83	0	150	220	217	240	284	475
17	45	84	180	151	75	218	25	285	150
18	80	85	0	152	150	219	150	286	950
19	135	86	0	153	350	220	130	287	400
20	60	87	140	154	235	221	175	288	160
21	220	88	50	155	225	222	1000	289	260
22	55	89	750	156	500	223	0	290	475
23	130	90	425	157	215	224	300	291	270
24	550	91	380	158	0	225	185	292	205
25	165	92	120	159	90	226	1100	293	1500
26	110	93	325	160	47	227	180	294	425
27	350	94	75	161	250	228	600	295	120
28	160	95	325	162	70	229	500	296	45
29	105	96	425	163	37	230	300	297	4500
30	170	97	255	164	600	231	195	298	225
31	15	98	290	165	285	232	0	299	180
32	250	99	1200	166	110	233	1600	300	375
33	175	100	85	167	29	234	185	301	750
34	120	101	550	168	40	235	475	302	475
35	150	102	75	169	1300	236	85	303	425
36	150	103	135	170	425	237	150	304	3500
37	18	104	47	171	400	238	0	305	275
38	200	105	43	172	450	239	500	306	100
39	625	106	350	173	375	240	475	307	45
40	250	107	45	174	265	241	425	308	195
41	160	108	39	175	290	242	200	309	350
42	275	109	285	176	165	243	175	310	0
43	0	110	295	177	30	244	550	311	300
44	110	111	460	178	1600	245	0	312	1600
45	360	112	60	179	375	246	75	313	700
46	55	113	525	180	275	247	26	314	1050
47	0	114	1700	181	210	248	290	315	325
48	95	115	285	182	80	249	260	316	250
49	65	116	185	183	400	250	100	317	450
50	400	117	36	184	255	251	450	318	100
51	95	118	6200	185	120	252	110	319	0
52	260	119	180	186	125	253	110	320	350
53	170	120	2800	187	300	254	550	321	1000
54	220	121	160	188	90	255	405	322	750
55	100	122	375	189	37	256	140	323	275
56	43	123	280	190	85	257	325	324	95
57	325	124	27	191	60	258	1800	325	15000
58	750	125	625	192	1300	259	27	326	1800
59	750	126	35	193	700	260	37	327	155
60	0	127	245	194	400	261	44	328	205
61	600	128	75	195	140	262	65	329	130
62	250	129	260	196	160	263	31	330	45
63	0	130	55	197	140	264	37	331	325
64	525	131	475	198	150	265	50	332	35
65	38	132	120	199	160	266	65	333	255
66	24	133	525	200	325	267	810	334	800
67	1700	134	225	201	375	268	1900	335	280

Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid
336	2200	403	1500	470	165
337	160	404	150	471	200
338	85	405	300	472	510
339	80	406	325	473	275
340	85	407	80	474	1300
341	160	408	200	475	0
342	575	409	700	476	0
343	110	410	400	477	810
344	0	411	550	478	650
345	550	412	1300	479	0
346	260	413	375	480	200
347	140	414	2200	481	150
348	0	415	225	482	160
349	1600	416	650	483	50
350	2550	417	175	484	58
351	300	418	2200	485	80
352	190	419	475	486	40
353	55	420	850	487	105
354	160	421	750	488	75
355	75	422	475	489	110
356	700	423	1000	490	90
357	485	424	60	491	95
358	475	425	95	492	85
359	120	426	550	493	90
360	175	427	425	494	120
361	190	428	350	495	90
362	2400	429	525	496	95
363	2100	430	195	497	95
364	0	431	235	498	90
365	325	432	550	499	85
366	0	433	450	500	80
367	90	434	500	501	160
368	60	435	375	502	170
369	0	436	190	503	160
370	1200	437	0	504	175
371	250	438	350	505	80
372	5100	439	750	506	25
373	160	440	585	507	0
374	110	441	725	508	11
375	140	442	525	509	25
376	100	443	425	510	25
377	1700	444	105	511	4
378	0	445	800	512	6
379	0	446	350	513	55
380	90	447	135	514	380
381	500	448	150	515	425
382	0	449	220	516	75
383	300	450	130	517	70
384	235	451	0	518	100
385	675	452	4000		
386	550	453	0		
387	130	454	725		
388	400	455	0		
389	160	456	175		
390	350	457	850		
391	195	458	135		
392	850	459	0		
393	1050	460	185		
394	900	461	450		
395	700	462	450		
396	800	463	145		
397	280	464	1100		
398	185	465	325		
399	0	466	325		
400	190	467	475		
401	205	468	120		
402	2600	469	1300		

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